

## THE LIVES OF SLAVES

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The World of Pompeii (2005)

## INTRODUCTION

Recapitulating the lives of slaves in the Roman era presents a challenge to modern scholars because of the peripheral and occasional role they play in written and visual evidence. Ironically, however, the fragmentary evidence that does exist clearly demonstrates that slaves were ubiquitous in the Roman world, and that their labour in villas and in urban manufacturing establishments was both essential to the ancient economy and encompassed all facets of domestic life (cf. Jongman, Ch. 32). The written evidence for slavery from Rome provides a framework that can be combined with documentary material from Pompeii and Herculaneum to obtain an approximation of slave life. Of greater value is the quality and quantity of the archaeological evidence, which allows us to restore slaves to the Vesuvian landscape in a unique way. By looking at the tasks slaves performed, the tools they used, and the places where they worked, we can discover the scope of servile involvement in daily life and reach some understanding of the slave experience. Placing slaves in context is especially fruitful in Pompeii and Herculaneum because nowhere else are there so many well-preserved locales for slave activity.<sup>1</sup>

Defining the work of slaves, however, is easier than understanding the world of their thoughts and feelings, since the written evidence is so minimal. On many issues, therefore, we must be content with mere impressions of what it was like to be a Roman slave. The problem is compounded by the variegated nature of Roman slavery, which undermines any sweeping generalities we might make about the lives of slaves. Slaves might have endured great cruelty or great affection; they might have been forced to toil long hours under inhumane conditions, or have been given significant responsibilities and some degree of autonomy. The quality of slaves' lives, from the food they ate to the clothes they wore to the hardships they suffered, depended entirely on the inclination of their owners. Still, by marshalling all of the available evidence and by using inference and imagination, it is possible in some measure to reconstitute the slave's perspective.

## SLAVES IN THE HOUSE

In the domestic context the slave members of the household, the *familia*, performed a wide range of jobs, both menial and administrative, and slaves are visible in the

house through the items they used in their work, such as kitchen ware (food preparation and service), loom-weights (cloth production), combs, and implements of every kind (cf. Allison, Ch. 17; Barry, Ch. 19; Figures 17-3, 19-3-4). Marching slaves to their domestic jobs has been made easier by recent studies of the artefacts in Pompeian houses and their distribution, which have revealed that vessels and tools were found throughout the house, including the *atrium*, *trichlinum* and peristyle, areas whose function has been conventionally defined as formal guest reception (cf. Allison, Ch. 17; Wallace-Hadrill, Ch. 18). Slaves were integral elements in Pompeian houses, and moved throughout as their work demanded. Obvious service areas within the house (such as kitchens and stables) were places where some slaves spent most of their lives, and the utilitarian decoration of plaster or simple wall painting that typifies them reveals the drab environment in which many slaves lived (Figure 20.1).<sup>2</sup> But slave activity was not confined to these areas, because the tasks they carried out in Pompeian houses varied so enormously, and were not only of a menial nature, but might include more responsible assignments such as secretarial duties, child-minding, and serving as a personal maid or manservant. Domestic slaves, moreover, were not restricted to the house, but were used as agents for the slave-owner and his family in the world beyond, giving them a visibility throughout the town—running errands in the forum for the master's wife, accompanying a child to school. In this role as instruments of their owners, slaves could even be compelled to commit acts that were socially unacceptable for slave-owners themselves: witness the gang of slaves at Herculaneum who hurled stones at the door of a neighbour because of some unknown quarrel.<sup>3</sup>

As in any mixed household, the emotional rhythms and daily interaction in the Pompeian house between slave and slave-owner were probably diverse, and because close contact was frequent and necessary, emotional bonds grew among slaves and family members, as abundant evidence from Rome demonstrates. An affectionate relationship sometimes developed between a slave child-minder and her charge. *Venera*, house-born slaves who were the offspring of two domestic slaves, or sometimes of the master and a slave, were often held in high esteem and given special treatment. The domestic picture, however, should not be idealized, for slaves could never afford to forget the fundamental inequities of their circumstances or be sure of their owners' benevolence. Curtailment of freedom and even violent punishment could be inflicted on a whim, and the leg irons found in a cupboard in the House of the Venus in Bikini (I.11.6) at Pompeii attest to the dark side of the master/slave relationship in the house. Sexual coercion, moreover, of both male and female slaves at an owner's hands was common, *graffiti* which advertise *verruze* for sexual purposes stand in sharp contrast to the loving commemorations they receive in funerary inscriptions, and show that their position in the household was not always privileged.<sup>4</sup>

In most Campanian houses, there is little evidence of where slaves slept, and they may have been housed in misting upper storeys or underground storage rooms, or have used convenient corners near their work area, or simply the floor outside their master's door (cf. Allison, Ch. 17).<sup>5</sup> The lack of permanent and identifiable sleeping facilities for domestic slaves in even the largest houses betrays their marginal position in Pompeian society, despite the ties that evolved with members of their slave-owning family, and the systematic denial of a "place of their own" within the house. Long-lasting intimate attachments did develop among household slaves themselves—abiding friendships as well as sexual relationships—and although slaves were not

able to marry legally, they did form unofficial unions (*contubernia*) which produced offspring. While uncertainty about status remains, many of the *graffiti* in Pompeian houses that mention explicit sex acts must refer to slaves, belonging to the same or neighbouring households. Mutual accommodation enabled both slave and free members of the household to maintain intimate relationships in relatively cramped physical conditions, possibly because the free family regarded slaves as animate objects, omnipresent eyes and ears which could be privy to moments of anger and intimacy. The free family's ability to ignore slaves can be attributed partly to the fact that Roman slaves were "body slaves", who performed tasks of personal hygiene for their owners. Standards of modesty which operated between social peers did not apply to the same degree to slaves, who were not considered fully human, and erotic paintings from Pompeii which depict graphic sex scenes often include slaves who stand by with lamps or wash basins and towels, apparently disregarded by the participants.<sup>6</sup>

Domestic religion offers another glimpse into the slave *mentality*. The shrines (*lararia*) that appear most often in Pompeian kitchens generally have depictions of the guiding spirit (*genius*) of the *paterfamilias*, or male head of the household, who sacrifices in the presence of the protective *Lares* (Figure 23-4). That these shrines were for the slave *familia* seems probable, since similar shrines are also commonly found in manufacturing and commercial establishments. Furthermore, they differ from those found in the *atrium* and peristyle, which were principally for worship by the slave-owner and his family.<sup>7</sup> The dichotomy in ritual suggested by these differences points to two spheres within domestic religion, which may have contributed to the formation of a collective slave identity in the house. The shared experience of cult practice thus fostered emotional bonds among slaves, creating a sense of community within the household while at the same time reinforcing the status distinctions between slave and slave-owner. More significantly, cult practice strengthened the tie between the slave's identity and his master's, for it is the *genius* of the *paterfamilias*, the spirit aspect of the master who protects and sustains the family fortunes, to whom the slave pours libations and utters prayers. Thus, the slave's subordination was renewed through the very act of household ritual.<sup>8</sup>

On certain feast days the entire household, free and servile, worshipped the household gods together, under the supervision of the master. A kitchen shrine in House (I.13.2) at Pompeii may depict just such an occasion (cf. Bernslein, Ch. 34; Figure 35.1).<sup>9</sup> The scene is unique among Pompeian *lararia* in the large number of worshippers who are shown. It has been tentatively identified as a sacrifice to the domestic *Lares* by the assembled members of the household: the *paterfamilias*, his wife and their slaves. Such an identification, though conjectural, accords with the notion that a unified, familial identity which was firmly attached to the master and his house formed a critical part of the identity of the household slave. Feast days that were celebrated in the house served a similar function. The *Saturnalia*, a holiday that fell at the end of December, was an especially significant celebration for slaves, for on this occasion a reversal of roles between slave-owner and slave occurred: slaves were served dinner by their masters, and were allowed to use more familiar forms of address. This temporary inversion of the social order can be read as a way of maintaining the status quo by providing a socially sanctioned, and therefore safe, release for frustration, thus ensuring good behaviour for the rest of the year.<sup>10</sup>

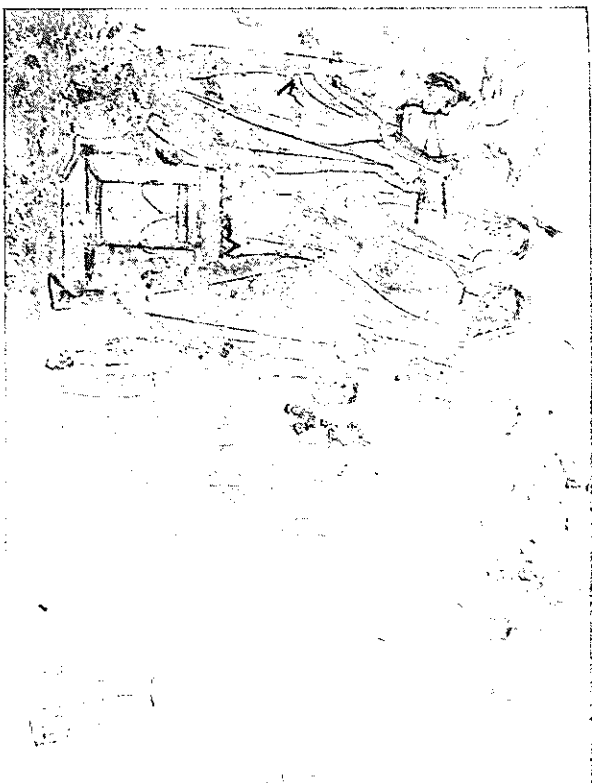


Figure 35.1 Kitchen shrine painting depicting a *familia*, from House (I.13.2).  
 Photo: P. W. Foss.

### SLAVES IN BUSINESS

When the focus shifts from the house to the street, slaves remain ubiquitous if still somewhat elusive. The numerous small shops that crowded the streets of Pompeii relied on an extensive slave work force in large and small commercial and manufacturing enterprises (cf. Pison, Ch. 29; Jongman, Ch. 32). Some establishments functioned entirely on servile labour, while others used a combination of slaves and free poor. Although freedmen probably outnumbered slaves at the supervisory level, in some cases trusted slaves also acted as business managers (*intitores*) who, overseeing production and sales and answering directly to their owners, enjoyed a marked degree of freedom. Slaves could also serve as their masters' representatives in business matters, as attested by seals inscribed with slaves' names, and by the tablets of L. Caecilius Iucundus, in which slaves acted on their master's behalf in the payment of public debts.<sup>11</sup>

Businesses that were integrated into large houses, such as the bakery in the House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.8-10), or which used converted houses (e.g., the *fullonia* at VI.8.20-21; Figure 29.4a), had space and practical features such as kitchens and latrines to accommodate the servile work force, as did many small-scale shops (e.g., the *fullonia* of Stephanus at [I.6.7]; Figure 35.2).<sup>12</sup> Many shops, however, had no extra space, and it is possible in such cases that the labourers, free and servile, lived

elsewhere. Paintings and sketches of life in manufacturing establishments show a coordinated workforce, suggesting that camaraderie evolved in the workplace (Figures 29.4b–d), and names scratched on the walls of shops are possible vestigial imprints of slave workers.<sup>13</sup> Close and complex relationships between workers are evinced by the *graffiti*, some of which are obscene, and point to group identification among workers in certain trades. A particularly skilled slave could distinguish himself in a trade despite his servile status, and business success probably eased the path to manumission. The high number of freedmen named in Pompeian inscriptions, especially among those indicating involvement in manufacturing, suggests that many followed such a path. Furthermore, the prominence of freedmen in occupational organizations (*collegia*), and the frequency with which they display themselves in work scenes on funerary monuments, demonstrates the importance of work as a vehicle for self-representation.<sup>14</sup> By extension, it is reasonable to assume that work was a critical element in the construction of slave identity for it was success in business, in garnering high profits for the master and a reputation in the community for themselves, which increased the chances for manumission. The bond of identification between *liberti* and their occupations did not begin with free status, therefore, but was rooted in the servile experience, and within every prosperous freedman at Pompeii we must see the aspiring slave, while remembering the less fortunate peers with whom he once laboured.<sup>15</sup>

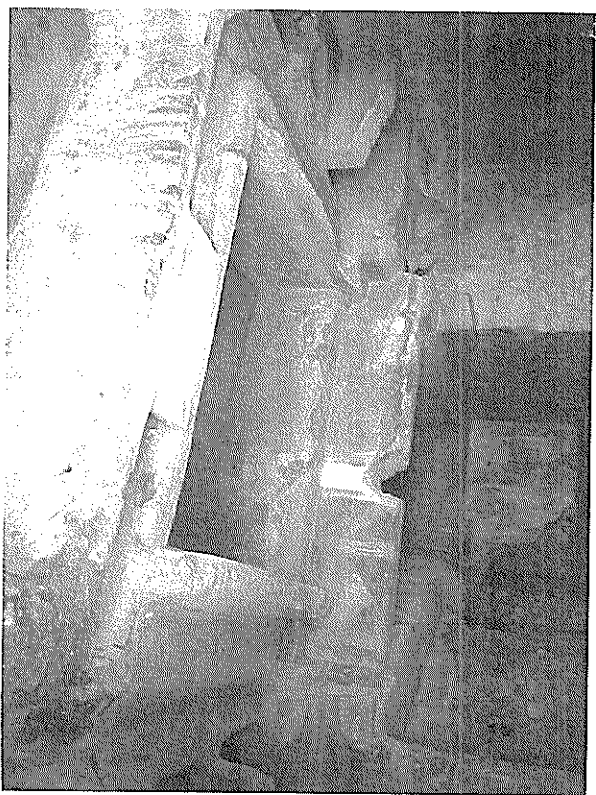


Figure 35.2 View of basins in the Fullonica of Stephanus (1.6.7).  
Photo: P. W. Foss.

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## SLAVES IN THE COUNTRY

Slaves were even more numerous and more important in the agricultural economy of Pompeii than in the manufacturing and commercial sectors, and every Campanian villa that produced olive oil or wine used a substantial corps of slave labour (cf. Moormann, Ch. 28). Traces of rural slavery can be seen in the work areas of villas, among the mills, wine and oil presses, and stables (Figures 28.4 and 28.5); here slaves may have lived in rows of *cellae*, small, undecorated rooms with beaten earth floors, shaft windows and small niches for lamps. From the Villa of the Mosaic Columns, located just beyond the Porta Ercolano, comes a more gruesome reminder of servile existence, in the underground slave prison (*ergastulum*), a skeleton was found chained around the legs, two tibia still bound by iron circles of stocks anchored in the ground.<sup>16</sup>

Distinctions in living circumstances and work load existed among rural slaves as among domestics, but to a lesser degree. Overseers of villas (*villici*), usually slaves themselves, enjoyed greater privileges than their rural counterparts, although some slaves on villas were allowed to keep livestock or a small plot to augment their rations. In general, however, agricultural slaves had a much more miserable existence than their domestic and urban counterparts. Categorized by Varro as “articulate tools”, most rural slaves were given minimal clothing and rations. They spent their days at strenuous physical labour, and their nights chained in the semi-subterranean *ergastula*, several packed into a small cell. They had little chance to acquire new skills with which they might prove themselves to their owners, or to develop a relationship with him that could lead to manumission.<sup>17</sup>

## SLAVES IN THE COMMUNITY

Other categories of slavery provided specialized services to Pompeian society and exposed slaves to danger on a daily basis. Among these were the gladiators who entertained in the amphitheatre of Pompeii, most of whom were slaves, purchased by businessmen for their natural strength and physique, and trained and reared out in groups for public performance. A school for gladiators (*ludus gladiatorius*) was built in the portico of the theatre, and excavation of its rooms has uncovered kitchen facilities, armour, and eighteen skeletons (cf. Parslow, Ch. 14). Stairs led to an *ergastulum*, where iron stocks and four more skeletons were found, though unchained. *Graffiti* which cite by name the performances of individual gladiators and even include sketches of duelling opponents, record the popularity achieved by these stars of the arena, but only the strongest and the most fortunate lived long enough to enjoy the adulation or obtain free status.<sup>18</sup>

Another brutal reality of Roman slavery which is well attested at Pompeii is prostitution, which involved both male and female slaves who were purchased for their youth and beauty, and forced to work in the sex trade (cf. DeFelice, Ch. 30). The most elaborate brothel (*lupanar*) at Pompeii (VII.12.18–20) is a dismal place, its narrow cells bearing crude painted sex acts over the doors, and its walls covered with *graffiti* that lists feminine names of Greek origin (Figure 35.3). While some names are probably pseudonyms used by freeborn women, it is probable that in such an establishment the majority had servile status. Advertisements for sexual services offered by individuals show that the sex trade also operated on a smaller scale, and

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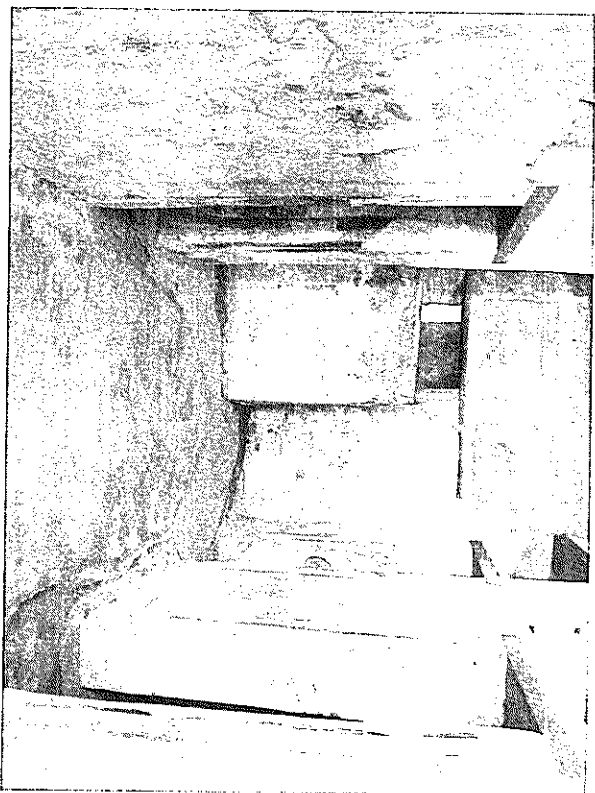


Figure 35.3 View into interior corridor of *Inpansar* (VII.12.18–20), flanked by cubicles. Photo: P. W. Foss.

although the status of these men and women is uncertain, some of them could have been slaves working for a procurer. Scant evidence of their lives survives, but the misery of sexual servitude, with its constant exposure to violence and disease, cannot be overestimated.<sup>19</sup>

There is no evidence from Pompeii for the slave social groups and burial clubs (*collegia*) which are attested at Rome, and in a small town such as Pompeii slave identity was more closely tied to his slave-owner and his family, and his servile peers. Most slaves worked for individual masters, but the town of Pompeii itself owned slaves, who were probably used for municipal construction and repair work, as well as tasks of greater responsibility.<sup>20</sup> Slaves of prominent families were also allowed to participate in the imperial cult as *ministri Augusti*, one of the minor priesthoods in the imperial cult. In this way preferred slaves who were marked for manumission might be introduced into the civic roles that would be open to them as freedmen, granting them a profile in the community and a degree of social status that their peers lacked. Involvement in such an institution gave the slave prestige and helped to assimilate him into the local elite, while at the same time acting as an inducement to hard work and ensuring good citizenship after manumission.<sup>21</sup>

Even so, slaves who received preferential treatment were still subordinate possessions, with only as much independence as their master allowed, always on the slave-owner's terms, and to his financial advantage. The close tie between slave and master that the

nomenclature of slaves reflects continued after manumission, and entailed important social obligations.<sup>22</sup> Manumission was a critically important part of the Roman slavery system, a control mechanism that discouraged flight and bad behaviour by giving hope for a better future (cf. Jongman, Ch. 32). It was given to favoured slaves, mostly urban rather than rural, who had proven their loyalty, or whose freedom was financially beneficial to their owner. The possibility of manumission strengthened the tie between master and slave, and discouraged the development of a strong collective identity among slaves of different households. In the lives of most slaves, however, manumission's role was psychological, a powerful motivator rather than an attainable goal, a mirage pursued but never gained, and it must be remembered that, despite the high number of *liberti* among the population, the majority of Pompeian slaves died without achieving it.<sup>23</sup>

The obscurity in which the lives of Pompeian slaves languished extended to death and commemoration. Although slaves in wealthy Roman households were memorialized in collective tombs, most slaves lacked the resources to provide funeral markers for themselves or their loved ones, and it seems that, as in so many other things, this was contingent upon the will of the slave-owner.<sup>24</sup> In the *neropolis* outside the Porta Nocera and Porta Ercolano, however, grave-stelae were found which were possibly memorials to slaves. Dubbed "herm-stelae" or *colonnelle*, the flat, schematic silhouettes of human heads are rendered in a variety of stone, and set up at tombs, often in groups (cf. Cornacik, Ch. 37; Figures 37.6a–b). Herm-stelae are found mostly in Campania, but their function is uncertain, for not all served as grave-markers.<sup>25</sup> Some are inscribed with a full Roman name (*tria nomina*), but others bear only single Greek names, which raises the possibility that they were intended for slaves. Many give the age at death, and among these young children are dominant, implying that they were favoured slaves, probably *vernae*.<sup>26</sup> More intriguing are those herm-stelae with no inscription, a group that comprises nearly two-thirds of the roughly 500 that have been found. The anonymity of such a memorial is appropriate to the low status of slaves, and their appearance in family tombs demonstrates again the subordination of the slave identity to the master's, in death as in life. Yet, if they do in fact commemorate slaves, the very existence of this crowd of nameless dead might also reflect affective ties between slave and slave-owner.

### CONCLUSION

Although slaves resist our scrutiny more than any other residents of Pompeii, they were nevertheless inextricably woven into the fabric of Pompeian life, and encountered at every turn—serving at a food stand (*thermopolium*), cleaning up and roasting the furnace at the baths, shopping for the master's dinner. A more sombre scenario, however, was also played out in Pompeii's streets: slaves bought and sold at public auction, a common occurrence which might be seen in any corner of the forum or public area. The decision to sell a slave was taken at the slave-owner's convenience—to pay off debts; to obtain capital to finance a new venture; to turn a profit on a house-born slave; to be rid of an aging or feeble slave. As commodities, slaves were vulnerable to swift reversals of fortune, and servile families were routinely broken up, parents separated from children, and slave spouses cut off from one another.<sup>27</sup> By contrast, for the unlucky slave of a cruel master, sale to a new owner represented

escape from a life of despair. The mix of dread and hope the slave auction engendered in the slave population was at once both real and profound, another symbol of the powerlessness at the centre of a slave's life. The reconstruction of its role in the consciousness of Pompeian slaves requires the same imaginative leap that accompanies every search into the past, but which is especially essential for understanding slavery. But with that leap, every glance at the Pompeian townscape conjures up the slaves who, though now evanescent, once permeated the city.

## NOTES

- 1 General works on Roman slavery: K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves: sociological studies in Roman history*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1978; M. I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, London, 1980; T. Wiedemann, *Greece and Roman Slavery*, London, 1981; K. R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: a study in social control*, Oxford, 1987; K. R. Bradley, *Slavery and Society in Rome*, Cambridge, 1994. For the archaeology of ancient slavery, see F. H. Thompson, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Slavery*, London, 2003. For estimates of the servile population of Pompeii, see J. Andreau, *Les effluents de Monsieur Lucandus*, Rome, 1974, pp. 126–30. Written sources from the Vesuvian region include graffiti, inscriptions, the wax-tablet accounts of Pompeian banker L. Caecilius Lucandus, and legal records found in Herculaneum. For L. Caecilius Lucandus: Andrea, *Monsieur Lucandus*, for Herculaneum: V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Studi epigrafici e paleologici* (L. Bove, ed.), Naples, 1974. Graffiti and inscriptions are found in *CIL IV* and *X*; see Landiaw, Ch. 39. See also: M. Della Corte, *Cave ed abitanti di Pompei*, 3rd edn, Naples, 1965; P. Castren, *Ordo populique Pompeianum*, Rome, 1975; J. L. Franklin *J. Pompeii: the electoral programme, campaigns and politics, AD 71–79*, Rome, 1980; H. Mouritsen, *Evotica pompeiana: iscrizioni d'amore sui muri di Pompei*, Naples, 1994. See also now E. Ferrares, J. Bodet, F. Carrelli, P. Barconi and G. Pucelli's articles in "Selling people: five papers on Roman slave-traders and the buildings they used", *JRA*, 2005, vol. 18, pp. 180–240.
- 2 See A. Wallace-Hadhill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton, NJ, 1994, p. 39–44; figs 3.2, 3.6
- 3 Four slaves belonging to a woman, Caria Longina, and several slaves of another owner were part of the group, which was presumably instructed to harass L. Cominius Primus (Arangio-Ruiz, *Studi epigrafici*, p. 304; Wallace-Hadhill, *Houses and Society*, pp. 178–9). For artefact distribution in Pompeian houses, see: P. M. Allison, *The Distribution of Pompeian House Contents and its Significance*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney 1992; Ann Arbor, MI, 1994; J. Berry, "Household artefacts: towards a reinterpretation of Roman domestic space", in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadhill (eds), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and beyond*, *JRA Suppl. Ser. no. 22*, 1997, pp. 183–95. For slave jobs in the household, see: S. Treggiani, "Domestic staff at Rome in the Julio-Claudian period, 27 BC to AD 68", *Historia Social/Social History*, 1973, vol. 6, pp. 241–55; S. Treggiani, "Jobs in the household of Livia", *PBSR*, 1975, vol. 43, pp. 48–77. The famous painted scenes (Figure 23.12) showing activity in the forum, from the *Pyralidia* of Julia Felix (II.4), probably include, among the figures, slaves whom we cannot identify with certainty (S. C. Nappo, "Fregio dipinto dal praetium di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro di Pompei", *RSPompey*, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 79–96).
- 4 Affectionate relationships: K. R. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 13–75; the slave viewpoint: S. Joshi, "Nurturing the master's child: slavery and the Roman child-nurse", *Signs*, 1986, vol. 11, pp. 3–22; sexual abuse: Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, pp. 118–33; leg. frons: Allison, *Pompeian House Contents*, p. 151; Vermeir, B. Rawson, "Children in the Roman family", in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome—new perspectives*, London, 1986, pp. 186–95; *uxoria* in sexual graffiti: *CIL IV*, 4023, 4025, 4699, 5203, 5204, 5206. These women might have worked independently, gathering money for their slave savings (*parvulum*), money from tips or gifts of property held by the slave (although legally the property of the slave-owner) that might be used to buy freedom, or for investment after obtaining it (Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, pp. 108–10). But it is equally possible that they were compelled

- to have sex for their masters' profit. The use of "uxoria" in advertisements indicates that some customers valued the sheltered background of the house-born slave over the unknown origins of foreign-born prostitutes. For the pre-eminence of *uxoriae* in the household, see Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, pp. 33–5.
- 5 Slave quarters are found in the House of the Menander (I.10–4), but are difficult to pinpoint in most houses. See M. George, "Servus and domus: the slave in the Roman house", in Laurence and Wallace-Hadhill, *Domestic Space*, pp. 15–24.
  - 6 Graffiti: e.g., *Staphylus hic cum Quirto*, literally, "Staphylus and Quirto were here" but probably with an alliterical sexual meaning (*CIL IV*, 4087) from the house of L. Caecilius Lucandus (V.1.18); *Romula hic cum Staphylo moratur*, "Romula and Staphylos had sex here", from a column in the atrium of VIII.13.8; possibly the same man who could not resist an opportunity for self-advertisement. More romantic and evocative is the heartfelt plea to Venus of the slave Methe, and Chrestus, whose status is unspecified but whose Greek name makes servile status or ancestry a distinct possibility: *Methe Comitatus Aetoliana amat Chrestum. Corde (sic) uirum que Venus Pompeiana prohitit ut conatibus uisum*, "Methe Aetoliana, slave of Comitia, loves Chrestus. May Venus Pompeiana favour them together (as a couple?) and may they always live in harmony", (*CIL IV*, 2457, found in a corridor of the theatre; see Varone, *Evotica pompeiana*, pp. 43–4, 154 n. 282 and *passim*). Slaves in erotic scenes: D. Michel, "Benehungen über Zuschauerfiguren in pompejanischen sogenannten Tafelbildern", *La regione salernitana ad Vesuvio. Studi e prosopografie*, *Atti del convegno internazionale 11–15 novembre 1979*, Napoli, 1982, pp. 537–98; M. Myerowitz, "The domestication of desire: Ovid's *Peria Tabellae* and the Theatre of Love", in A. Richlin (ed.), *Portraiture and Representation in Greek and Rome*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 131–57; J. R. Clarke, *Looking at Laomachida*, Berkeley, CA, 1998; A. Varone, *Evotica in Pompeii*, Los Angeles, CA, 2001, pp. 74–9; privacy in the house: M. George, "Repopulating the Roman house", in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy—status, sentiment, space*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 299–319.
  - 7 T. Frohlich, *Lararium und Fassdenbilder in den Vasenmalereien: Untersuchungen zur "volkstümlichen" pompejanischen Malerei*, RM-EM 32, Mainz, 1991; P. Foss, "Wachtel Larci: Roman household organization and the rituals of cooking and eating", in Laurence and Wallace-Hadhill, *Domestic Space*, pp. 196–218. Shirts in the atrium and peristyle usually feature the ancestral guardian deities called the *penates*, whose cult was overseen by the *paterfamilias*.
  - 8 Note the inclusion of the servile *familia* in the prayer given by Caro for the purification of land (*Agr. 141*).
  - 9 Frohlich, *Lararium*, pp. 176–9, 261; pls. 28.1–2. A male and female stand beside two rows of 15 figures, uniformly attired in white, short-sleeved tunics, and making the same arm gesture.
  - 10 For the *Saemulia* and other festivals relevant to slaves (e.g., the *Astronulia*, March 1, when mistresses served special meals to slaves); the *Complutaria*, January 3–5, when symbols of slavery were removed from slaves); Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, pp. 40–3. Not all masters were prepared to assume the slave's role, even for a day; see Cic., *Att.* 13.52.2; Plin., *Ep.* 2.17.22. A small stretch beside the kitchen *lararium* in the House of Obellius Firmus (IX.14.2, 4) shows a group of individuals wearing tunics, seated and drinking around a table. Frohlich, *Lararium*, pp. 33, 299; pl. 48.1 suggests it could be a depiction of a Saemullan celebration.
  - 11 See Andreau, *Monsieur Lucandus*, p. 297 for *ambipare* stamped with the names of slaves who probably served as managers of *officinae* for seals; see Mouritsen, *Elections*, p. 14 n. 35. For slaves paying debts on L. Caecilius Lucandus' behalf, see: Andreau, *Monsieur Lucandus*, p. 44; for *intitores*: J.-J. Aubert, *Business Managers in Ancient Rome*, Leiden, 1994.
  - 12 Bakertes: B. Mayseske, *Bakertes: Bakers and Bread at Pompeii: a study in social and economic history*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Maryland 1972, pp. 177–80; falleries: W. O. Moeller, *The Wolf Trade of Ancient Pompeii*, 1976.
  - 13 Wolf scenes: e.g., of tulling from (VI.8.20–22), and of a possible trial scene involving fullers from (VI.14.20); G. P. Carratelli and I. Baldisserre (eds), *Pompeii, pitture e mosaici*, Rome, 1990, vol. 2, fig. 23; 1994, vol. 5, figs 34a–d, 35–9; J. R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, Berkeley, CA, 2003. For workers graffiti, e.g., a room in *textorius* (V.1.10.8) has graffiti with the names of five men and two women; in *textoria* (V.1.3.6) graffiti indicates there were seven male weavers and eleven female spinners (Moeller, *Wolf Trade*, pp. 39–40). A full name is often omitted in graffiti, and servile status cannot be ascertained from a Greek name alone,



- although single Greek names have a high probability of belonging to slaves. Cf. also Pierson, Ch. 29.
- 14 For *collegia* at Pompeii, see J. Liu, *Occupation, social organization, and public service in the textile workers' associations (collegia cantuariorum) in ancient Rome (first century BC-fourth century AD)*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 2004, pp. 109–14, 116–21, 247–52.
- 15 Freedmen and work: P. Garnsey, "Independent freedmen and the economy of Roman Italy under the principate", *Klio*, 1981, vol. 63, pp. 359–71; N. Kampen, *Imago and Status: Roman working women in Ostia*, Berlin, 1981; G. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsstellungen*, Berlin, 1982; S. Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome: a study of the occupational inscriptions*, London, 1992.
- 16 For villas, e.g. V. Kockel and B. F. Weber, "Die Villa delle Colonne a Mosaic in Pompeii", *RM*, 1983, vol. 90, pp. 51–89; V. Kockel, "Archologische Funde und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten I, A4, 1985", p. 542. For iron stocks: M. Della Corte, "Scavi eseguiti da private nel territorio di Pompeii", *NSc*, 1922, pp. 459ff.; for stocks with two tibia exant: G. Spano, *NSc*, 1910, pp. 259ff., fig. 3; for stocks with a capacity for fourteen slaves at a time: M. Della Corte, *NSc*, 1923, p. 277.
- 17 Varron, *Rust.* 1.17.1; for a summary of the ancient sources on rural slavery, see K. D. White, *Roman Farming*, Ithaca, NY, 1970, pp. 332–83.
- 18 Among the skeletons was a female with costly jewelry, probably not a slave, but a citizen trying to escape the disaster of the eruption. For gladiators at Pompeii: P. Sabbatini Turinolei, *Gladiatorum parva—annunti di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompeii*, Rome, 1980; F. Mantucci Vivolo, *Pompeii: i graffiti figurati*, Foggia, 1993; L. Jacobelli, *Gladiatori at Pompeii*, Los Angeles, CA, 2003. For the *ludus gladiatorius* in the theatre portico: J. Overbeck and A. Mau, *Pompeii in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken*, 4th edn, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 193–6; A. and M. De Vos, *Pompeii, Erechono, Stabiae, Rome-Bari*, 1982, pp. 67–9; Jacobelli, *Gladiatori*, pp. 66–7. A private *ludus gladiatorius* has been identified in a house at V.5.3, because of numerous gladiatorial graffiti on the columns of the peristyle: A. Mau, "Iscrizioni gladiatorie di Pompeii", *RM*, 1890, vol. 5, pp. 25–39; A. Sogliano, *NSc*, 1899, pp. 228ff., 347; Jacobelli, *Gladiatori*, pp. 65–6.
- 19 A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Public honor and private shame: the urban texture of Pompeii", in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds) *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, London, 1995, pp. 33–62. For wall paintings in the *tablinae* at Pompeii, see Clarke, *Ordinary Romans*, pls. 79–85. See also now T. A. J. McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World*, Ann Arbor, MI, 2004. A cleaned and restored *tablinae* was re-opened to the public in 2006.
- 20 One *servus colonicus*, Secundus, appears in the accounts of L. Caecilius Iucundus first as a witness to debt payments in AD 53, and then in AD 58 as a freedman and witness to another transaction (Andreas, *Monistae Iucundus*, p. 53; cf. Welch, Ch. 36, re: Vesontius Pannus). For public slaves, see W. Eder, *Servitus Publica: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktion der öffentlichen Sklaverei in Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1980.
- 21 *Ministri Argenti*: e.g., Nymphodorus, one of several slaves who appear in the records of L. Caecilius Iucundus first as *serville ministri*, and then as *liberti* in later tablets. See Andreas, *Monistae Iucundus*, pp. 205–8; Casteln, *Ordo*, pp. 76f.; Mouritsen, *Elitism*, p. 92.
- 22 Freed slaves usually retained their servile personal name as a *cognomen* and assumed their master's *praenomen* and *nomen*.
- 23 Manunition: W. M. Jongman, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 241; Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, pp. 154–65.
- 24 Slaves in the *calcestrarium* of Livia at Rome: Treggiari, "Jobs in the household".
- 25 A. D'Ambrósio and S. De Caro, *Un impigno per Pompeii: Fotografie e documentazione della Necropoli di Porta Nocera*, 1983; A. D'Ambrósio and S. De Caro, "La necropoli di Porta Nocera. Campagna di scavo 1985", in H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds), *Römische Gräberstätten—Selbstdarstellung—Status—Standort*, Munich, 1987, pp. 199–228; V. Kockel, *Die Gräberstätten von dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeii*, Mainz, 1983, pp. 16–18; V. Kockel, "Im Tode gleich? Die südlischen Kolonissen und ihr kulturelles Gewicht in Pompeii am Beispiel der Nekropolen", in Von Hesberg and Zanker, *Römische Gräberstätten*, pp. 183–98, suggests that rather than grave markers, *herm-stilae* were meant to represent the guiding spirit (the *genius* for men, the *juno* for women) of the deceased (cf. Small, Ch. 13). See also V. Hope, "A roof over the dead: communal tombs and family structure", in Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill, *Domestic Space*, pp. 84–6.
- 26 E.g., from the necropolis outside the Porta Ercolano: FORTUNATUS VIXIT ANNIS II, "Fortunatus lived two years" (CIL X, 1012; Kockel, *Herkulaner Tor*, p. 69); Porta Nocera necropolis: HELLE PUELLA VIXIT ANNIS IV, "the girl Helle lived four years" (D'Ambrósio and De Caro, *Un impigno*, *PNoc* 19a OS). The tomb of C. Minucius Faustus and Naevoleia Tyche (*PNoc* 522; Figure 37.5) contains eight *herm-stilae*, of which five are inscribed with typical slave names, raising the possibility that they represent loyal members of the domestic *familia*. Of the remaining three *herm-stilae*, one has C. Minucius Faustus' own name, and two others are probably for two of his *liberti* (*PNoc* 9 ES). Naevoleia Tyche had her own substantial tomb in the Porta Nocera necropolis: Kockel, *Herkulaner Tor*, p. 100 (cf. Bernstein, Ch. 34; Cormack, Ch. 37, n.1 for an explanation of the numbering and abbreviation system for *ceneteries* at Pompeii).
- 27 Slaves sold at auction: Andreas, *Monistae Iucundus*, pp. 107–9; 118–19; Bradley, *Slaves and Masters*, pp. 55–6; Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, pp. 51–6; Penness *et al.*, "Selling People".